1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

be for us to be directed to fill up an official document using the maiden name of our mother in place of our own surname. 613

THE CLAN

Beyond the inner ring formed by the lineage, there is an outer ring of persons with whom the child, as he grows older, will find himself in association. This outer ring embraces all those people belonging to the same clan as himself, wherever they may live. The collective word in the Petats dialect for the people standing to an individual in this wider association is *suput*, and in the Kurtatchi dialect *wūti* (clan). But when persons included in this group are referred to individually, a Kurtatchi man will often use the same term as for members of his lineage, calling them *boanē* (meaning 'my clansmen'). It is usually perfectly clear from the context whether the word is being used in its wider or in its narrower sense, but if it is necessary to emphasize the distinction still more, he will explain the former as *pes wūti*, 'of one clan', and the latter as *boanē tsūn*, or *boanē kuruts*, my 'real', or 'true' kinsfolk. 614

The child's association with his clansmen will depend, naturally, to some extent upon their place of residence. With those who live in the same village he feels himself more closely associated than with those who live afar off. But he applies the same term also to clansmen in other villages, and there is no doubt that the bond is a real, though rather vague one. It is, however, weaker to-day than in the olden time, since there is no longer any call to support one's clansmen in battle.

On visiting another village, a man will first of all seek out his clansmen, who will sponsor him during his stay. Those of his own sex whom he knows personally he calls *kiar*, even if there be no blood relationship between them. This term is also used in a narrower sense for those of his siblings who are of the same sex as himself. When inquiring about a man who was thus specified, but who did not appear anywhere in the speaker's genealogy, I often received the explanation 'He is not my real brother (*kiar tsūn*), but we belong to the same clan (*pes wūti*)'. 574 601 614

Throughout the whole area with which this book is concerned, there are at the present time two important clans. In most places they are designated Naboin and Nakarib. They are not, however, to be regarded as moieties indicating a dual organization, at any rate at the present time, because in some villages there are also 614

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

pointed out some that did not conform to type they said that those were wrong, but did not attempt any explanation, nor did the discrepancy appear to trouble them at all. One man said they must have got the lines from their fathers.

This belief is found also in Buin, in the extreme south of Bougainville, where it was recorded by Thurnwald (1912, vol. i, p. 536 and Tafel III). He gives drawings of three patterns, one of which, for the Fish-eagle clan (*manugau*), corresponds exactly to the drawing in Fig. 3 for the Naboin (Manu) people.

THE LINEAGE GROUP

The clan is, of course, made up of a number of lineage groups. The separate lineage groups seem to have been, in the olden days, far more self-contained than is the case at present, but even now the lineage functions to some extent as a unit with its own internal organization.

The child whose relations with his fellows we discussed at the beginning of this chapter will be taught from his infancy to regard as the person having most authority over him his mother's eldest brother, whom he calls *tsoanē*, and who calls him *pasunē*. But this man is himself under the authority of his own mother's eldest living brother, as long as any survive. The actual head of the lineage, therefore, is its eldest living male. The small child, however, will not at first realize this, since the man in question, his mother's mother's brother, calls him *tsubna'in*, 'grandson', and shows him all the affectionate attention usual in this community between grandparent and grandchild.

The members of a lineage will often be found living together in a hamlet, on ground which they claim as the property of their clan. As a result of the government policy of encouraging the natives to group themselves together in larger villages, for greater ease of supervision, the hamlet, which seems to have been originally the local unit (and, in the mountain districts, still is), is now becoming merged in the village, so that the lineage group no longer dominates the situation as once it did. The older state of things is best illustrated at Saposa, where the people are scattered over a number of tiny islands. Each island was designated as the property of a certain lineage group, in some cases for habitation, in some for growing coco-nuts, in some for purposes of burial. At Lemanmanu, on the Lontis coast (NW. Buka), I was told that in the olden

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

liable to come to harm through black magic, or, as they call it, 'poison', which will probably be made against them by those who are jealous of their power, though I do not think there is any implied suggestion that a *tsunaun*'s direct heirs would try to kill him in order to succeed to the headship of the lineage. Their danger is never far from the minds of members of the *tsunaun* lineage. It is responsible for some at least of the ritual surrounding the lives of all who are *tsunaun*. On the occasion of a ceremony performed for the child Wanias, I asked why wailing by the women, resembling the ritual wailing for the dead, played such a prominent part in the proceedings, and was told that it was because they were sorry for Wanias, who would probably meet his death by poison because he was *tsunaun*.

RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM

Returning again to the single individual who was our starting-point, we have now to examine his position in regard to the people to whom he is connected by ties either of blood or marriage. The relationship system is, as is to be expected in Melanesia, of the kind termed 'classificatory', in which the same term is applied to a number of individuals standing to the person who uses the term in different physiological relationships, varying much in the nearness of the blood tie between them. But in using these terms he does not lose sight of such distinctions, although they are not expressed in his nomenclature. There are always certain people who stand closer to him than others to whom he applies the same relationship term, while those who are actually farthest removed in blood, especially if also distant in residence, may mean to him almost nothing, although, when questioned, he includes them in his application of the term.[1] In every case, relatives who are also

[1] The rendering of a Melanesian relationship term by an English word belonging to our own relationship system is unsatisfactory, because it can hardly fail to suggest a spurious similarity in connotation to that which we habitually associate with the word chosen as a translation. But it would be difficult to render a native system intelligible without proceeding to the unfamiliar by way of the familiar, and it has therefore been customary to adopt, as a conventional translation for each term, the English name for the relative who, of all those to whom the term is applied, stands physiologically nearest to the individual. For example, the word applied to the mother, mother's sister, father's sister, father's other wives, father's brother's wife, &c., is conventionally translated 'mother'. This may serve so long as it is made clear that there is no confusion in the mind of the native speaker between the various individuals to whom he applies the term, and that a very definite distinction is always present between

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

• 601 members of the lineage are regarded as more important than those called by the same term who are outside it. To give but one example, the mother's sister stands much closer to the individual than the father's sister, although the term *tʃina-* is given to them both.

To set out all the relationships covered by each of the various terms separately would be a task in which the result would offer scant reward for the labour involved to the writer in compiling it or the reader in toiling through it. I propose to discuss the more important of the ties covered by each term, and to illustrate as well as I can from concrete cases what these count for in the life of the individual. Further extensions can be traced by reference to the generalized genealogical trees (Tables A and B). The natives themselves do not follow up their system to its farthest logical ramifications, and the extent to which they apply the terms and the attached rules and prohibitions depends to a very considerable extent on geographical proximity.

The relationship terms were obtained in the course of collecting genealogies, by asking my informants what they called each of the relatives named in answer to the regulation questions used in recording the individual's genealogy. They were subsequently checked by making a list of people whose actual relationships were known to me through the genealogies, and asking each of these what term he or she applied to all the other people on the list. A further check was provided by noting the terms by which different persons were referred to in the course of conversation, or in discussing the parts played by them in various ceremonies.

These people do not take any very keen interest in their family history, and I found no one with the phenomenal memory for the names of his ancestors that has been recorded of natives elsewhere. Most of my genealogies do not go back beyond the grandparents of my informants, and in many cases the names of even these are forgotten, except the names of the maternal grandmother, sometimes of her sisters, and occasionally that of the maternal grandfather. Attempts to go back farther met with no success, 'the

– his actual mother and all the other women for whom he uses the same relationship term. The convention chosen might just as well have been to translate this word by 'aunt', with the same proviso. So too with other terms. As some of them cannot be easily rendered by a single English word, I have not hesitated to retain the native terms when a conventional translation does not seem to meet the case.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

native's grandfather', as Guppy says (1887, p. 76), 'being deemed a person of so high antiquity, that in referring to past events he seldom cares to go beyond'—a statement which, though made long before the elaboration of the genealogical method, still holds good. Sometimes a relationship term will be used which cannot be accounted for by the individual's genealogy, and occasionally I have been able to trace it subsequently, and found it to go back to two sisters of a previous generation. The bond remains after its origin has been forgotten.

Some of these terms are never used without a suffixed possessive attached to them, others use the separate form of the possessive. I could discover no basis for the difference. It does not seem to be the case that the suffixed form expresses a nearer or more personal relationship, as might perhaps be surmised from the other uses of this form. For example, the words for 'mother' and 'father' have the suffixed possessive, but that for 'child' has not. The following example will illustrate this usage:

Suffixed possessive	*Adjectival possessive*
tʃinanē, my mother	*bai'i pio*, my child
tʃinamen, your mother	*bai'i pe'en*, your child
tʃinania, his (her) mother	*bai'i pia*, his (her) child
tʃinerer, their mother	*bai'i pe'er*, their child

For convenience of reference, a list of relationship terms is given on pp. 56, 57 with the translation reduced to its simplest terms, reciprocal pairs being taken together. This list gives the terms in use at Kurtatchi. To avoid confusion, the terms of the Petats dialect are given in a similar table in Appendix II. The genealogies and relationship terms which I collected at other villages in different parts of Buka, and along the whole of the north coast of Bougainville, though not complete, are sufficient to show that the system is essentially the same throughout all this area. That of the Kunua mountain district appears to be different, but I did not get enough information about it during my brief visit to enable me to analyse it.

The terms as here given are, in general, those used by an individual in referring to the people to whom he is thus related, or in speaking of the relatives of other people. In some cases they can also be used as terms of address, in others they are not so used; the terms of address where this occurs are given

[Text continues on p. 58]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kuitatchi

601

LIST OF RELATIONSHIP TERMS AND THEIR MOST IMPORTANT APPLICATIONS

NOTE. Where the suffixed possessive is used, the form given is that for the first person singular, with the possessive separated by a hyphen.

TERM	RECIPROCAL
1. *tʃina-nĕ : bdi'i*	
Mother, other wives of father	Child (*bai'i uetĕ* = son; *bai'i mon* = daughter)
Mother's sister, father's sister	Child of sibling
Wife of father's brother	Child of husband's brother
2. *táma-nĕ : bai'i*	
Father	Child
Father's brother	Brother's child
Husband of father's sister	Wife's brother's child
3. *tsóa-nĕ : pasú-nĕ*	
Mother's brother. (Used by m. or f.)	Sister's child. (Used by m. only, speaking of m. or f.)
4. *kidr*	
Sibling and parallel cousin of same sex as speaker. Also, in wider sense, clansman. (Used only between persons of the same sex.)	
5. *wévnĕ-nĕ*	
Sibling and parallel cousin of opposite sex to speaker. (Used by m. speaking of f. and by f. speaking of m.)	
6. *wagún*	
Spouse of one's *kiar*, i.e. brother's wife (m.s.), sister's husband (f.s.). (Used by m. speaking of f. and by f. speaking of m.)	*Kiar* of one's spouse, i.e. husband's brother (f.s.), wife's sister (m.s.). (Used by f. speaking of m. and by m. speaking of f.)

1. Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

601

7. *tdawē-nē*

Spouse of one's *wevnē-*, i.e. sister's husband (m.s.), brother's wife (f.s.). (Used by m. speaking of m. and by f. speaking of f.)

Wevnē- of one's spouse, i.e. wife's brother (m.s.), husband's sister (f.s.). (Used by m. speaking of m. and by f. speaking of f.)

8. *pi'dn*

Child (m. or f.) of mother's brother (cross-cousin)

Child (m. or f.) of father's sister (cross-cousin)

9. *watfitfio*

Parent's female cross-cousin, i.e.
Mother's mother's brother's daughter
Mother's father's sister's daughter
Father's mother's brother's daughter
Father's father's sister's daughter, also
Wife of mother's brother

Child (m. or f.) of cross-cousin, i.e.
Father's sister's daughter's child
Mother's brother's daughter's child
Father's sister's son's child
Mother's brother's son's child, also
Child of husband's sister

10. *tsúbu-nē : tsúbna'in*

Mother's parents, father's parents

Child (m. or f.) of son or daughter

11. *mintfē-nē* or *uētē pio : múta-nē* or *mon pio*

Husband

Wife

12. *wdris*

Wife's parents

Daughter's husband

13. *rúanbe-nē*

Husband's parents

Son's wife

14. *súvan*

Parents of child's spouse

15. *taō*

Co-wife

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

in the following notes. Relationship may also be expressed by a transitive verb formed out of these terms and the causative prefix *wa-* which may be said to correspond to our *be-* as in 'befriend'. For example, *wataman* or *watʃinan* means to stand to a person in the relation of father or mother; *Nomoin wapi'an pi Gav* means 'Nomoin is *pi'an* to Gav' (i.e. is his cross-cousin).

Notes on the relationship terms

1. *Tʃina- : bai'i.*

Tʃina- is applied primarily to the actual mother. Second to her in importance comes the mother's sister, then her ortho-cousins (the daughters of her mother's sister).

On the other side of the family it is given to the father's sisters and his parallel cousins (the daughters of his father's brother). Further, it is used of any woman added to the parental generation on both sides by the fact of her marriage to any of either parent's siblings or parallel cousins.

There is never any confusion in the mind of the speaker between his actual mother and the other women to whom he applies this term. Among these others his feelings of nearness and affection vary in intensity. Nearest to his own mother comes his mother's sister, who, if she should be resident in the same village, has helped to look after him from his earliest babyhood. The relatives on his father's side, i.e. his father's sister and his father's brother's wife, stand further from him, though he will accord them respect and help them if need arise, just as readily as he helps his mother's relations.

The bond between a girl and her actual mother remains very close throughout life, for even if she goes to live with her husband's people, she will often come home for long visits. A boy is taken from his mother when he goes into the bush preparatory to putting on the *upi*, and their connexion is henceforth but distant until after the *upi* has been ceremonially removed, perhaps ten years later. During the intervening years he sleeps in the men's house, and consorts only with people of his own sex. After this, he may return to live in his mother's hut, perhaps bringing his wife there, or he may build another hut for himself and his wife. He is then expected to look after his mother and to help her with her heavy work, and to care for her if she is left a widow in her old age.

In the case of a man with more than one wife, the term *tʃina-* is

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

applied by all the children to all of them. But the use of the term does not in this instance imply that any motherly care is shown by one wife towards the children of another. As a rule they live in separate huts, and each looks after her own offspring, the others having much less to do with their co-wife's children than has the latter's sister, except in the case of a man marrying two sisters, when the 'mother's sister' relation holds good. Otherwise, one wife, if she takes any notice at all of the child of another, is more likely to 'put upon' the child if she be a girl, making her run errands and do other work for her. In some instances which came under my notice this was a source of quarrel between the domineering wife and her husband, who took his child's part against her.

The word *tʃinanē* is never used as a form of address. A child calls his mother *na*. Children must never use their mother's personal name, but when they are grown up and the mother is old, they may use some name which has been given to her on a special occasion, perhaps when her husband dies. For example, Tchub may not call his mother by her personal name Diwats, but he may use the name Pasu, which means 'short of breath', and was given to her because her husband fought for breath before he died. It is by this name that she is generally known in the village, the other I learned first while taking her family's genealogy.

2. *Tama- : bai'i.*

The views of these natives in regard to physical paternity and the customary procedure when extra-marital intercourse results in pregnancy are discussed in Chapter IV. For sociological purposes the term *tama-* may be described as applying to the mother's husband. Where a widow or a divorced woman remarries, it is applied by her children to her new husband. In the majority of cases the most important person to whom an individual applies the term *tamanē* ('my father') is actually the child's physiological father. Its extensions are to the father's brother, all the father's male cousins, and the mother's sister's husband.

The bond between a father and his children is a close and affectionate one; it is expressed in caresses while the children are little, and, when they are older, in the lively interest the father takes in all their doings and the affairs of their everyday lives. The connexion between father and son is not interrupted, as is that

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

593 between mother and son, when the boy puts on the *upi*, in fact he is then just beginning to be taken out by his father on fishing and hunting expeditions, and to be a real companion to him. It is [584] the father who chooses his son's first wife, often while the son is still quite a small boy. An old father will not infrequently live with his married son. I have known a man to beat his wife severely because he thought she had not taken sufficient care of his father during his own absence. A daughter comes in for a fair share of her father's affection, but I did not notice, in the families which I kept under observation, any marked preference for the daughter [578] over the son. In more than one instance there were apt to be quarrels between a man and his adult daughter, while I did not hear of any marked dissensions between a man and his adult son. One rather striking case was that of a married daughter living a very short distance off, who seemed to consider it no business of hers to come and look after her old father when he was ill, leaving him consistently alone until he died. The villagers did not comment on this neglect as if it were anything unusual.

● 601 *Tamanē* is not a term of address. A child calls his father *pa*. When he is grown up he may use some secondary name, as in the case of his mother.

3. *Tsoa-: pasu-*.

601 The term *tsoa-* is applied by individuals of both sexes to the
604 mother's brother, the mother's mother's brother's son, and the mother's mother's sister's son, i.e. to the males of the mother's generation on her side of the house, excluding those introduced by marriage. These men call their sister's (or their cousin's) children *pasu-*, irrespective of the children's sex. The man who counts for most in this relationship is the mother's eldest living brother, who is officially head of his sister's household, and possibly of the whole lineage, and is a person of considerable importance, especially if the lineage be *tsunaun*. The extension of the term to the mother's mother's *brother's* son seems curious, as he is, of course, normally of a different clan and does not belong to the lineage group. There are sufficient examples in my genealogies, however, to authenticate this. The term is not applied to any relative on the father's side of the house, the males of the father's generation on his side of the house being known as *tama-*.

604 The *tsoa-* does not necessarily enjoin discipline, or dispense

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

604 to his house if he were not there, it would be considered an insult to the *pasu-*'s wife though he calls her by the same term as his own son's wife, to whom he would go freely.

A man owes certain duties to his *tsoa-*, the chief of which was, in the olden days, to assist him in fighting. He must provide the greater part of the food for his *tsoa-* in old age.

In the case of a female the *tsoa- : pasu-* relationship seems to count for less than with a male, perhaps because there is no question of succession. No specially interesting incidents illustrating the relation between a girl and her mother's brother came under my notice, other than the very exceptional case of rape discussed on p. 77.

4. *Kiar* (term used reciprocally).

●601 To understand many of the terms in this relationship system it is essential to bear in mind the way in which the use of the words *kiar* and *wevnē-* differs from our use of the words 'brother' and 'sister'. Whereas our usage depends upon the sex of the person spoken of, the Melanesian usage depends upon the sex of the speaker. That is to say, while we use 'brother' or 'sister' according to whether the sibling to whom we refer is male or female, the Melanesian uses *kiar* if he is referring to a sibling of the same sex as himself, and *wevnē-* in referring to a sibling of the opposite sex. It follows that *kiar* is applied by a man to his brother and by a woman to her sister, while *wevnē-* is applied by a man to his sister and by a woman to her brother. No distinction is made according to whether the speaker is older or younger than the person spoken of.

601 By extension the term *kiar* is used between parallel cousins of
593 the same sex, i.e. by the children of two brothers or of two sisters.
605 No special designation is used between 'ortho-cousins', i.e. cousins in the line in which descent is reckoned, in this case the children of two sisters. But, in practice, the relationship between such is closer than that between the children of two brothers, and unless great precision is used in investigating the facts, the distinction between ortho-cousins and blood brothers and sisters is very easy to overlook; it appears frequently to be ignored, if not actually lost sight of, by the individuals concerned.

593 This is a very close and friendly relationship. A person's *kiar*
605 is the first to whom he turns for help in any enterprise, and is the

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

only relative whose property, such as coco-nuts or areca-nut, he may requisition if necessary. Two women who are *kiar* will work together and will look after each other's children. If one dies, the other will take her sister's baby and suckle it, if she is in a position to do so. They are very often both married to the same man, but there is, so far as my knowledge goes, less friction between them than between co-wives who are unrelated. It is not uncommon for two brothers to marry two sisters, and to build huts next door to one another.

Kiar may be used as a term of address, and so far as I know there is no alternative vocative form.

One of the women of Kurtatchi adopted me as her *kiar*, on her own initiative. She never failed to respond to any request I made of her, and would let me have a supply of taro even when she had not too large a store for herself. In return she considered herself entitled to ask me for tobacco once in a while, a concession I never permitted to others, but she did not abuse the privilege. I used sometimes to work in her taro garden, which pleased her very much, being the proper thing for a *kiar* to do.

5. *Wevnē-* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used only between people of opposite sexes, in accordance with the rule discussed in the preceding note. It is applied, primarily, by a man to his sister and by a woman to her brother, and also to parallel cousins, i.e. the children of the mother's sister and of the father's brother, provided they are of the opposite sex to the speaker, that is to say, to the children (of the appropriate sex) of any person the parents call *kiar*. While both are little the relation between *wevnē-* is very similar to that between *kiar*. If the girl be the elder, she looks after her little brother, pets him, and carries him about. Little boys are usually immensely pleased with their baby sisters. Several whom I knew well were always dragging me off to admire their little sisters and to see what they could do.

Withdrawal of intimacy begins abruptly when the boy is sent to the bush preparatory to putting on the *upi*. As long as he wears it his contact with his sister is reduced to a minimum, since he is strictly debarred from all but the most distant necessary converse with girls and women. After he has finished the *upi* ceremonies this prohibition is removed, but though there is no actual

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

593 882 taboo attached to the *wevnē-* relationship, there is a feeling of 'shame' between them which persists throughout life. They would be 'ashamed' to talk to each other without other people present. If a man's *wevnē-* calls him to come and take some food from her he may do so, but more probably he will be 'ashamed' and will pretend not to hear her.

593 831 576 Jokes on sexual subjects may not be passed by anybody with a woman in the presence of her brother. But traditional stories involving sexual situations were told me freely by persons of both sexes in the presence of their *wevnē-*. It is not correct to bandy with a woman, while her brother is present, certain slightly improper words, which in the general way are looked upon much as we look on slang.[1] Still less should expressions which are actually regarded as obscene be used under these circumstances. One day a man living near me, in a rage with his wife, accused her of having improper relations with another man, using one of these expressions. Her brother overheard it, and was furious, not at such things having been said to his sister, but at their having been said in his hearing. He said he would go away, and then her husband could swear at her as much as he liked. He did actually leave the village, and did not return for several days, staying meanwhile with some people who were camping at the taro garden.

6. *Wagun* (term used reciprocally).

● 601 The use of this term and the next following will be best understood if considered in the light of the explanation given of the application of the terms *kiar* and *wevnē-*. *Wagun* is employed by males in reference to females and by females in reference to males, never between persons of the same sex. A man applies it to the wife of any one he calls *kiar*, and a wife to any one her husband calls *kiar*. We might say it applies to 'in-laws' of the same generation as the speaker but of the opposite sex.

[1] The existence of this rule I learnt by breaking it. There is a certain word, *biak*, an abbreviation of *bibiak*, which means 'faeces', but is used much as we use the expression 'Rot!' to indicate jocular disbelief in something that has been said. Having been taught this by Marotē as the proper retort to make on a previous occasion, I once jokingly countered with it a remark of her own. She immediately became quite serious and changed the subject. When she had me alone she explained that I ought not to have said it to her while her brother was listening. I was forgiven on the score of ignorance, and obtained much enlightenment on the rules of the *wevnē-* relationship as the result of my innocent breach of good manners.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

It will be seen that in all these cases the woman is a potential wife for the man she calls *wagun*, for he may have as his wives two sisters either synchronously or consecutively, and he is entitled to take his brother's wife after the death of his brother. If this marriage takes place, the terms for 'husband' and 'wife' are substituted for *wagun*. But as long as the *wagun* relationship obtains, certain restrictions are observed. I once saw Marotē pass near a log on which her *wagun*, Togen, was sitting. As she approached she called out '*Watagio!*' ('Look out!') Immediately he rose from his seat, and remained standing till she had gone. People who are *wagun* to each other may not eat in each other's presence. If this cannot be avoided, the woman must cover her face with her hood. They may not touch each other's body or hair. A man's wife's sister may not prepare his food. Sobak's wife's sister, Bawt, was divorced from her husband at Hanahan and came to live with her sister at Kurtatchi. In the olden days Sobak would, he told me, have married her, but he refrained from doing so in deference to the wishes of the priest, who discourages polygamy. Bawt and her three children, however, made their home permanently with Sobak and his wife, sharing their single hut. While his wife was paying a visit to her relations at Hanahan, both continued to sleep in the hut, but Sobak went to his *kiar*, Watchiu, to get his meals. (Thus precisely reversing the taboos observed among ourselves!)

Wagun may not address each other by their personal names, but may use adopted names, e.g. the woman may be called by the name she takes if her child dies. For example, Pesē's first child died when it could barely walk; since then she has been known as Tchinamoa—'mother of one (dead child)'. Matarē, her sister's husband, calls her by this name, never using the name Pesē.

These taboos are usually brought to an end when the mother or father of the woman dies. Ceremonial pudding is prepared by the woman and her sister. A length of *imun* (ceremonial currency of flying fox or porpoise teeth) is hung on a spear by her sister's husband, and put up beside her hut. The woman comes out with her hood on her head. Her *wagun* comes up to her and takes it off. The woman then takes possession of the spear and the *imun*, but at some later date she must reciprocate with another gift of like nature. The two families eat the ceremonial pudding together, and the *wagun* taboos then cease to be observed.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

601 7. *Tauwē-* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used only between persons of the same sex. It is connected with the use of the term *wevnē-* in exactly the same manner as the use of *wagun* is connected with that of *kiar*. It is applied by a man to the husband of any woman he calls *wevnē-*, and to any man his wife calls *wevnē-*. A woman uses it of the wife of any one she calls *wevnē-*, and of any one her husband calls *wevnē-*. That is to say, it applies between 'in-laws' of the same generation and the same sex.

607 There is no taboo on personal contact or on eating in each other's presence. The only restriction attaching to the *tauwē-* relationship is that individuals thus related cannot call each other by name. They do not even use a substitute name, but say the relationship term. This restriction ceases automatically when the first child of either union is born, no ceremonial procedure being necessary.

The term implies a certain intimacy as between equals, and in fact persons so related are often good friends and go about or work together. As so often in the course of field work, my attention was first drawn to this aspect of the relationship by an exception to the general rule. Pinari, a *tsunaun* of great importance, married as one of his wives Kwimau, the full sister of Bwapip, a commoner. In discussing relationship terms with Bwapip in connexion with his genealogy, he told me that before this marriage took place Pinari used to call him by his name, but since then he has called him *tauwenē*. But Bwapip, although entitled to call Pinari *tauwenē* also, said he felt ashamed to do so, and as he could no longer use his name, he always called him by his official government title of 'kukerai'. This clue led me to study the behaviour to each other of various other people standing in the *tauwē-* relationship, with the result that the frequency of the existence of friendly co-operation became evident. It is not in any way prescribed, but may be compared with the business and social partnerships which not infrequently obtain in our own society between brothers-in-law and between sisters-in-law.

8. *Pi'an* (term used reciprocally).

605 This term is used by a person of either sex for any of his cross-cousins, i.e. for the children, whether male or female, of his mother's brother (and for those of any other man to which he

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

605 582 565 Togen and Matarē told me that their marriages were not really in order, but that they agreed because they were afraid of offending Pinari. In spite of this inauspicious beginning, both marriages seem to be turning out reasonably well.

9. *Watʃitʃio* (term used reciprocally).

601 This term is applied by a woman to the children of her cross-cousins on either side of the house, that is to say, the offspring of her mother's brother's children or of her father's sister's children, and by them to her. It will be seen that the reciprocal term applies to people belonging to an upper and a lower generation, and that while the lower generation can be either male or female, in the upper generation the term applies to females only.

604 582 684 This is a taboo relationship. The woman of the elder generation may not hold such a child in her arms when it is small, and she must not touch it when it is grown up. She must never eat in its presence. This relationship carries with it a very strong taboo against marriage, which is somewhat striking in view of the fact that two persons standing to each other in this relationship are always of different clans, as will be apparent from the table of kinship terms. I was informed more than once that in the olden days the penalty for extra-marital intercourse between *watʃitʃio*, if discovered, was death for both. Members of the woman's lineage would kill the woman, and members of the man's lineage would kill the man. The woman was then eaten by the man's [266] lineage-group and the man by the woman's, no retaliation following on either side. At the present time, they say, all that would happen is that the couple would be banished from the village.

601 604 582 The term *watʃitʃio* is also used reciprocally between a woman and the child of her husband's sister (i.e. her husband's *wevnē-*). By extension, it also applies to the child of any other individual who stands to her husband in the relationship of *wevnē-*. But this does not carry with it so strong a prohibition against marriage, which, though irregular, is not impossible. Tahol, married to Tsigot, took as her lover Wasē, son of Rusu, Tsigot's *wevnē-* (actually his ortho-cousin). After this affair had twice resulted in pregnancy, Tsigot divorced Tahol, and Wasē married her. In telling me about this all the individuals concerned laid stress on the fact that she was not Wasē's *watʃitʃio tsūn* ('real' or 'true' *watʃitʃio*) or the marriage would never have been countenanced.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

601 *Watʃitʃio* is seldom used as a term of address. A child will call his *watʃitʃio* by the same term of address as he uses for his mother —*na*—and may refer to her, in speaking to a third person, as *tʃinanē* (my mother), while she, for her part, may call him *bai'i pio* (my child), but without showing him any of the endearments which normally accompany the *tʃina- : bai'i* relationship. It will be remembered that she belongs to the same generation as the women he refers to as *tʃina-*. This term seems to be in more general use in everyday life, *watʃitʃio* being a more formal mode of reference especially required on ceremonial occasions, and for this reason it was some time before I appreciated its importance.

604 It is tempting to speculate on the meaning of this relationship between a woman and the children of her cross-cousins, with such strong taboos attached to it. I do not know of any similar stress laid on this tie elsewhere. It seems just possible that it may be a relic of some marriage system formerly obtaining, in which the cross-cousin was the preferred mate, as is the case in many Melanesian communities. But I have no actual evidence or information in support of this theory, and it would not account for the inclusion of the children of female cross-cousins (i.e. the children of the father's sister's daughter and the mother's brother's daughter).[1]

604 585 852 I should like tentatively to suggest another explanation. If reference be made to the account of the marriage ceremony on p. 91, and of the various ceremonies performed for a child described on p. 186 (no. 3), on p. 187 (no. 5), and on p. 189 (no. 7), it will be seen that the individual's *watʃitʃio* takes a prominent part in each, and that her role seems to be either to impersonate the child (as in the ceremony for first placing on the ground, where the *watʃitʃio* is decorated with the same kind of leaves as is the child himself), or, on other occasions, to act as a substitute for the child, undertaking first the action he is about to engage upon, as if to interpose herself between him and the danger involved in so doing. For example, in the ceremony for first being carried on his mother's pack, one of his *watʃitʃio*, after being carried in this way by another woman, herself carries the child on the same pack,

[1] Mrs. Seligman has drawn my attention to the fact that marriage with the daughter of the female cross-cousin is an essential feature of Ambrym culture (see A. Bernard Deacon, 'The Regulation of Marriage in Ambrym', *J.R.A.I.* lvii, pp. 325 et seq.). In Ambrym marriage with the widow of the mother's brother is also allowed. The same term is, however, not used for mother's brother's wife and for child of the cross-cousin as in North Bougainville.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

temporarily setting aside the taboo on physical contact. Again, in the marriage ceremony, the imitation of the sexual act gone through with one another by the women who stand in that relationship to the bridegroom might be interpreted as taking over to themselves the danger attaching to entry into the married state. This would account for the prohibition against personal contact and also for the strong taboo against marriage. But the natives never at any time made any comments which would suggest that such an idea was involved, and this interpretation of the function of the *watʃitʃio* is therefore hypothetical only.

10. *Tsubu- : tsubna'in.*

All the grandparents, on both sides of the house, and of both sexes, come under the designation *tsubunē*, and any ancestor farther back than the grandparental generation is given the same appellation. Similarly, all the grandchildren are referred to as *tsubna'in pio*, which also embraces great-grandchildren, though it would appear to be rare for a native to live to be old enough to see the children of the fourth descending generation. Neither *tsubunē* nor *tsubna'in* is a term of address, *bubu* being used instead of both of them when speaking directly to the relative concerned.

This is a very close and affectionate relationship, even more than is commonly the case between grandparent and grandchild among ourselves. No taboos or restrictions of any sort are attached to it. As usual, the relatives on the mother's side, especially the mother's mother, stand closer to the child than do the other people to whom he applies the term, but, as usual, much depends on proximity. The grandparents take a large part in looking after the children while they are small, especially when they become of an age to be left at home when the mother goes to the taro garden, or when she has a yet smaller infant to tend. One old man at Kurtatchi was always to be seen with his grandchild on his back, and when the young family went off to visit their other relations he wandered about quite disconsolately waiting for their return; he was typical of many. It is the duty of the grandchildren to care for their grandparents in old age. There were two blind women at Kurtatchi who were always attended and led about by their small granddaughters. The relationship might also be illustrated by plentiful examples from my collection of tales.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

The remainder of the terms to be discussed are concerned entirely with relationships entered into upon marriage.

11. *Uētē : mon* or *muntʃē- : muta-*.

The first pair of terms, which actually mean merely 'man' and 'woman', or, as adjectives, 'male' and 'female', are the usual ones applied by a woman to her husband and by a man to his wife or wives. They are usually distinguished from the general term expressing merely the sex distinction by the addition of the possessive adjective, *uētē pio*, my husband, *mon pio*, my wife. They may be used as terms of address, and also by a third party, for example, another person speaking to a woman about her husband will say *uētē pe'en*, your husband. The second pair of terms is used only in referring to husband or wife in their absence, and not as terms of address. Both pairs may be used during the period between betrothal and marriage, but are applied only to the actual, and not to merely potential, mates.

When newly married, couples do not use each other's personal name, for though there is no formal taboo on so doing, they are said to be 'ashamed'. They call each other *uētē* and *mon*. I have heard a woman call her husband *tab*, which is the exact equivalent of our 'old thing'!

The relationship between husband and wife is discussed in Chapter III.

12. *Waris* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used by a man with reference to both the parents of his wife, and is extended to cover all the other people his wife calls *tʃina-* or *tama-*, and also to her *tsoa-* and his wife, that is to say, to all his wife's relatives in the parental generation. Reciprocally, it is applied by all these people to the husband of any female they call *bai'i* or, in the case of the *tsoa-*, *pasunē*. This means that an unmarried girl is *waris* to the husband of her brother's or sister's children.

This is the most important of all the taboo relationships. But the full force of the restrictions is felt only in the case of *waris* of opposite sex, that is to say, between a man and his wife's mother. His wife's father is also his *waris*, and towards him he must conduct himself with respect and without undue familiarity. But his relations with all his female *waris*, and with the actual mother of his wife in

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

606 in-law may refer to her son-in-law as 'the father of So-and-so', and sometimes, even before the child is born, a name will be given to it for this purpose, which is changed at birth if the sex turns out to be wrong.

[888] This taboo ceases to operate when the wife's mother is very old. She may then go and live with her daughter and her *waris*, and be looked after by both of them. Sometimes the taboo is lifted when there are several children. One of the native Mission teachers told me that he did it when his first child was born, because it would not do for him to hold too closely to the old customs. But usually three or more children are born before the [784] taboo is removed. This is done by a small ceremony. The man makes ceremonial pudding, takes a piece of it, and also a piece of areca-nut, breaks both into two, eats one part himself and gives the other part to his *waris*, who also eats. If a number of children have been born but have all died in infancy, the taboo may still be broken in this way.

[689] If a man inadvertently sees his *waris* he must expiate the offence by paying a string of *imun* to her through his wife. When I asked what would happen if a man and his *waris* were caught looking at one another on purpose, the assembled company was—or professed to be—extremely shocked and protested that such a thing could not happen. I surmise that the face-saving scheme above-mentioned saves the situation in such a case.

606 184 764 At Petats I was told that the taboo cannot be lifted during the lifetime of the mother-in-law, but when she dies her son-in-law lifts the lid of the coffin and looks at her face, and throws a fathom of shell currency (*beroan*) into the coffin. This is supposed to be buried with her, but sometimes her own relatives take it out and keep it. If the son-in-law omits to do this there is gossip, and it is said that he is not sorry about the death of his *waris*.

13. *Ruanbē-* (term used reciprocally).

● 601 This term is used by a woman to and of her husband's actual parents, and also to and of any one who stands to her husband in the relation of *tama-* or *tʃina-* or *tsoa-*. Reciprocally, it is applied by both males and females to their son's wife, and also to the wives of all the men they call *bai'i*, and by a man to the wife of any man he calls *pasunē*, e.g. to the wife of his sister's son.

606 591 No restrictions are observed between *ruanbē-*, even where the

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

persons concerned are of opposite sexes, as in the case of a woman and her husband's father. The son's wife spends a great deal of her time between betrothal and marriage living in the hut of her *ruanbē-* and working for them. After marriage the couple may live near them or near the wife's parents, but in the latter case will pay extended visits to her husband's parents at intervals.

14. *Suwan* (term used reciprocally).

This term is used by both parents of the husband in reference to both parents of his wife, and reciprocally by the parents of the woman in reference to the parents of the man. At the beginning of the young couple's married life the *suwan* relationship is accompanied by certain taboos which are considered only second in importance to those associated with the *waris* relationship. They do not, however, include any prohibition against seeing each other or against addressing each other directly, except that names may not be used, the term *suwan* serving as a form of address. *Suwan* may not touch one another, they may not eat in each other's presence, or even chew areca-nut together. But there is no objection to their sleeping in the same house.

These restrictions are removed when the wife has her first child, even if it dies. The two mothers prepare food, the two fathers prepare ceremonial pudding, and all four *suwan* eat together, each couple eating what the other couple has prepared, and the taboo is thus lifted.

15. *Taō* (co-wife).

This term is used by one of the wives of a man to refer to, and also sometimes to address, any of his other wives, though there is no restriction on the use of names in addressing one another. No distinction in terminology is made between the first or chief wife, and subsequent wives, but in practice the latter are supposed to give way to the former, though, if they stand high in their husband's favour, they probably will not do so. The man calls his wives *mon* without distinction of priority.

RELATIONSHIP SYSTEM AND REGULATION OF MARRIAGE

There are no enjoined or preferred marriages in this system. Although the boy may be, and generally is, older than the girl, marriages are, in general, with mates of the same generation.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

of a married couple is of more importance than the other, the spouse will take up residence in the village of the partner who has the higher status. In any case, the kindred, as defined above, counts for more than the clan.

The recognized social unit is the lineage, its head is the eldest living male, hence it follows that the person to whom an individual looks as the one officially in authority over him is his mother's eldest living brother. Some lineage groups take precedence of the rest; their members are known as *tsunaun*, and the head of such a group is a person of great authority, though now possessing less than in the olden days.

For the reckoning of descent and succession the mother's side of the house is all-important, the father's side completely ignored, i.e. the community is in this respect exclusively matrilineal. But in the case of inheritance of personal property, either in goods or in knowledge, the society is both matrilineal and patrilineal, that is to say, a man can bequeath such property to his son or to his sister's son, or divide it between them, as he pleases.

Throughout the area there are two main clans, but others, smaller in numbers, though not considered as subdivisions, occur: the names and number of these small clans differ in different districts. With each clan is associated some creature, usually, but not always, a bird, but the association now amounts to little more than that of name, though it may once have been more important. The significance of the clan as a social unit seems to have declined considerably with the abolition of warfare.

Marriage is normally exogamous, but exceptions to this rule seem always to have occurred not infrequently. The important thing is to avoid persons with whom direct relationship can be traced either through the mother or through the father, marriages between cousins and the children of cousins being strongly taboo. (This applies to both parallel and cross-cousins.) The bride is preferably obtained from another village.

The relationship system is a 'classificatory' one, comparable with those found in other parts of Melanesia, with strong taboos regulating social intercourse between certain persons. The most important of these are their regulations applying to the wife's mother–daughter's husband relationship, and to that between the parents of husband and the parents of wife. These restrictions are lifted under certain circumstances.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

APPENDIX II

List of Relationship Terms in the Petats dialect and their most important applications

601 ●
197

Term		*Reciprocal*
1. *tʃína-goan*	:	*pían*[1]
Term of address, *hawa* Mother, mother's sister, father's sister		Child, sibling's child (f.s.) (*pian atsón* .. son *pian hihín* .. daughter)
2. *táma-goan*	:	*pían*
Term of address, *titi* Father, father's brother		Child, brother's child (m.s.)
3. *túa-goan*	:	*handyoan*
Term of address, *papa* Mother's brother		Sister's child (m.s.)
3*a*. *tʃína-goan*	:	*pelúkas*
Mother's brother's wife		Child of husband's sister

4. *hamunasi-goan*

Sibling and parallel cousin of same sex as speaker.

5. *matahá-goan*

Sibling and parallel cousin of opposite sex to speaker.

6. *tsotsóni*

Spouse of *hamunasi-* (m.s.), i.e. brother's wife — *Hamunasi-* of spouse (f.s.), i.e. husband's brother

6*a*. *hahá-goan*

Spouse of *hamunasi-* (f.s.), i.e. sister's husband — *Hamunasi-* of spouse (m.s.), i.e. wife's sister

7. *mádulat*

Spouse of *mataha-* (m.s.), i.e. sister's husband — *Mataha-* of spouse (m.s.), i.e. wife's brother

[1] This word is not the same as *pi'ás* (= cross-cousin) in the Kurtatchi dialect, which has its accent on the second syllable.

[p. 589]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

Term	*Reciprocal*
	7a. *mumlhan*
Spouse of *mataha-* (f.s.), i.e. brother's wife	*Mataha-* of spouse (f.s.), i.e. husband's sister
	8. *hinas*
Child of mother's brother (cross-cousin)	Child of father's sister (cross-cousin)
	9. *hdkuis*
Parent's female cross-cousin (used in this sense by m. or f.)	Child (m. or f.) of cross-cousin (used in this sense by women only)
10. *tubu-goan*	: *tutubugui*
Term of address, *bubu*	Term of address, *bubu*
Mother's parents, father's parents	Child (m. or f.) of son or daughter
11. *atsón*	: *hlhin*
Husband	Wife
	12. *hális*
Wife's parents	Daughter's husband
	13. *hdihis*
Husband's parents	Son's wife
	14. *nihan*
Parents of child's spouse	
	15. *hlaloi*
Co-wife	

The terms have been given the same numbers as the corresponding terms at Kurtatchi, for convenience of comparison. It will be seen that the two systems are the same, except that in two cases the Kurtatchi system has economized in terms. In the Petats dialect the sister's son (3a) is given a term (*pelukas*) distinct from that applied to the son of a woman's cross-cousin (*hakuis*), and the terms corresponding to our use of brother-in-law and sister-in-law are differentiated according to the sex of the person spoken of as well as according to the sex of the speaker, so that four terms are used instead of the two which suffice at Kurtatchi. These have been numbered 6a and 7a in the foregoing list.

The taboos are the same as those at Kurtatchi, in all essentials, though it is possible that some differences in detail may have escaped me, as I

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

RELATIONSHIP TERMS: KURTATCHI DIALECT

[End chart IA]

● 60

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

109

End chart 18